

# The Stakes in China's Internal Struggle

## Part I Revolution vs. Restoration

By SAM MARCY

The Chinese Communist Party has been the strongest, truest, and most devoted of all the parties in the struggle for Marxism and socialism. It has courageously, energetically and with consummate skill and ability charted and carried through the greatest social and political transformation on behalf of more than a quarter of the human race. Its most formidable and enduring achievement has been the splendid adaptation of Marxism to the very difficult conditions of China.

### The remarkable record

Through all the trials and tribulations of the civil war and thereafter, the party retained a truly remarkable continuity of its basic cadres and central leadership. No small accomplishment, when one considers what has happened elsewhere! To this should be added the fact that it has been relatively free from such purges as have characterized the period of Stalin's leadership. Furthermore, the party has consistently encouraged and cultivated a high degree of criticism and self-criticism in its ranks, unequalled anywhere else.

When one remembers that the life of the party for most of its existence has been conducted in the very shadow, if not in the midst of war and threatened invasion, only then can one gauge what a truly monumental achievement this has been. Needless to say, all of this has been achieved under the direct guidance and leadership of Mao Tse-tung.

### Cultural revolution in Communist tradition

Has the cultural revolution catapulted the party and the country into a historically reverse direction? Let

us see:

The cultural revolution was launched last August by decision of the Central Committee of the Party. Since then, its general aims and objectives have become known in practically all corners of the globe. It proposes, among other things, to root out all "old ideas, cultures, customs and habits of the exploiting classes" — and "...to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist base..."

How can any genuine Communist quarrel with this? Has it not been an integral part of the understanding of all Communists that the old order, with its old ideas, old culture, and habits of the exploiting classes should be abolished and that new, revolutionary, socialist ideas, customs and habits be instituted to conform to the socialist foundation of the new regime? Isn't this one of the principal reasons why the socialist revolution was made in the first place? And as a matter of fact, has this not been the proclaimed goal in all socialist countries? Of course! What is really new about all this is the inflexible determination of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to make an earnest effort to really bring it about in practice. That is what is new!

### A struggle to crush officialdom

Had the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party merely confined itself to promulgating the cultural revolution in an abstract and pedagogical manner and left it at that, it would have scarcely caused a ripple. But the Chinese C.P. went further. The August Decision of the Central Committee did more than make a bold and courageous pronouncement. To its great credit, it launched a struggle for its success. That is a qualitatively different matter.

The August Decision proclaimed the necessity — "to struggle against and crush those persons in authority" who are actively opposing the cultural revolution and in fact "are taking the capitalist road."

It is this that has evoked the frenzied hatred of the imperialist rulers, their lackeys and apologists and raised a storm of resistance from the rightist opposition at home.

### The difference between

### Social Democrats and Communists

What was the fundamental difference in approach to the Socialist Revolution between the classical Social Democrats and the Communists? The Social Democrats were for the revolution, too, — in words — but they refused "to struggle against and crush those persons in authority" who were opposing the revolution! That in essence is precisely what the issue is today. One can talk and propagandize for the cultural revolution for decades. But to put up a serious, resolute struggle and at whatever cost to insure its victory, is something else again.

### The concern of sincere friends

Notwithstanding all that has been said, there is, nevertheless, grave and serious concern among many sincere and honest friends of the Chinese People's Republic over the form and method that the struggle has taken. They view with growing alarm what appears to them to be the extra-legal and extra-governmental activities of the Red Guards and they question the wisdom of having them assume political functions which normally would be exercised by the well established

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## Taft-Hartley for Workers

# Union Carbide Coins Profits From War & Breaks Strikes

By TED WILSON

The Union Carbide Corporation, the tenth largest company in the U.S., is increasing its strikebreaking activities as well as its profiteering.

When workers in about a dozen of its plants struck last September, this corporation took to the offensive against the union. It is refusing to bargain with the workers on a company-wide basis, but proposes to deal with them plant-by-plant and in this way to weaken their unity.

In Kokomo, Indiana, it got the Johnson administration to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act. The government claims that the specialty products from Kokomo are vitally needed for the war against the Vietnamese. And the judge who granted the Taft-Hartley injunction did it on the basis of the "danger" the country was in.

In its Ashtabula, Ohio, plant, the company brought in about two hundred supervisors from other localities to scab on the strikers. It used helicopters to bring in food for the scabs.

This enraged the strikers who took to the offensive and forced a judge

to stop the use of the helicopters. In exchange, the strikers agreed to allow the scabs to leave the plant.

The anti-union policies of Union Carbide extend throughout its vast empire. It has plants in eighteen states and over one hundred oxygen and gas producing facilities within steel mills and other factories. It hires "working foremen" to repair, maintain, and operate its Linde oxygen generators which supply the bulk of the needed oxygen for manufacturing steel, aluminum, and other products. This gimmick prevents the unionization of its workers into bona fide labor organizations.

Internationally, Union Carbide owns plants in most of the European countries and also has great holdings in Asia, Africa, and South America. It controls many sources of raw materials.

As an example, one-third of all the tin used in the U.S. comes from Union Carbide plants in Thailand.

Of course, the company enlists the support of its government in Washing-

# War Crimes Investigator Arrested in France

## U.S. Pressure Strongly Hinted by Cops As Tribunal Prepares to Try Johnson

London, Jan. 11 — Last night, at about 11 P.M., Ralph Schoenman, Secretary General of the International War Crimes Tribunal, was abducted by the French authorities while on his way from the Hotel to the restaurant at Orly Airport, Paris. With five colleagues, he was in Paris en route for Pnom Penh and Hanoi as a member of the second investigating

team collecting evidence for the Tribunal.

At first, his colleagues suspected nothing, thinking that he must have been called to the telephone. But they later discovered the police in the act of searching the luggage in his hotel bedroom, on the pretext of searching for his passport.

This action is astonishing, as Mr. Schoenman had entered France regularly and without the slightest trouble, showing his passport both at the airport entry point (passport control) and also at any hotel where he had registered.

The police refused to answer any questions as to his whereabouts.

No one was allowed to see him, or even to speak to him by telephone.

The serious situation was immed-

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ton to invoke the "no strike" law in Thailand, and uses the American military to crush the liberation struggle and force the workers to continue to work for starvation wages.

Is it any wonder that Union Carbide and its fellow American imperialist plunderers don't want to "lose" Thailand or any other colony?

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## Dual Task of Harrison Salisbury

Harrison Salisbury, assistant managing editor of the New York Times, went to North Vietnam last month and ripped the lid off the U.S. lies about bombing "only military targets." He did such an excellent journalistic job that the "warhawks" over here are attacking him fiercely and hinting darkly that he should be tried for treason.

But another aspect of his trip must also be noted. A man like Salisbury does not do such a thing — nor does a paper like the New York Times give such extensive coverage to his stories without having some purpose other than pure journalism.

The New York Times speaks for the liberal bourgeoisie, which seeks a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war — along with whatever compromise it feels it has to make to gain its ends.

There is of course a temptation on the part of all sympathizers with Vietnam to line up with the Times and endorse the series by its eloquent correspondent without any reservations — and also to suppose that the "negotiations" plan will work out to the benefit of the struggling Vietnamese.

But history teaches that the liberal bourgeoisie is weak and vacillating. (Even in their "heroic" period, they were notorious for double-dealing with the workers and cowardice with the reaction.) Today, they are always in the long run merely a cover for the arrogant right-wing section of the ruling class, which always imposes its will upon them in the end.

However, the Times is now trying to show the rest of the ruling class that the bombing of the North is "ineffective" and that it "only stiffens the will" of the Vietnamese to fight harder.

This thesis is directed toward a peaceful settlement rather than an enlarging of the war. And it appears that the very extensiveness of the coverage is calculated to create mass support for such a settlement.

But the character of the settlement itself is another matter. And the

liberation fighters of both north and south understand that very well.

The Times wants an imperialist settlement, just as the Vietnamese want an anti-imperialist settlement. But Hanoi took the calculated risk of giving wide latitude to the Times because of its belief that the publicity would be beneficial to the revolution, regardless of the intent of the publicists. Similarly, it would be foolish of the sympathizers of the revolution not to utilize the Salisbury reports to the fullest for the benefit of the genuine anti-war movement.

But the period of Salisbury's "sympathetic" articles seems already to have passed, now that he himself has passed from Hanoi to Hong Kong.

There is also a more subtle aspect of Salisbury's mission, one that is only surfacing now, as we write these lines. His trip was also a probing operation, a quest for "soft spots" — for points of inner differences among the "enemy," for possibilities that can be further exploited by the State Department.

That is what is behind Salisbury's discussion of Hanoi's "nationalism" and the National Liberation Front's "differences" with Hanoi, and so on.

Salisbury wants to show that the NLF would be willing to settle for a bourgeois-neutralist foreign policy, which he implies can be geared and oriented to the interests of U.S. imperialism. Therefore, he is really saying, perhaps a peace would work out for the best interest of Wall Street after all.

Every informed person knows that the South Vietnam Liberation Front is a coalition of Communist and non-Communist. The reactionaries in the U.S. have known it for years. Whether Salisbury and the Times think they are telling the right wing something new or giving them a face-saver for quitting the war, the latter will make their decision on the basis of the strength of the revolution and the confidence of the counter-revolution.

—And the Times will go along with them.

## Maddox, the Liberals and the Law

Super-segregationist, Lester Maddox, is now Governor of Georgia. And the liberals who turned their backs on — or even in some cases actually held the rope — in the lynching of Adam Clayton Powell, have had surprisingly little to say about it.

Maddox, the giver-of-ax-handles to the mob — Maddox, the defier of the laws of the United States — Maddox, the friend or member of the Ku Klux Klan is Governor of the fair state of Georgia. The Supreme Court and the Georgia Legislature both say that's just fine. So the liberals have nothing to say.

But then, what would they have to say?

By their standards, everything is quite in order. Lester Maddox was legally — or almost legally — elected. And Adam Clayton Powell was legally — or almost legally — thrown out. The Constitution was observed — or

almost observed — in both cases. If the lawmakers of Georgia say Maddox is lawful, and the lawmakers of Congress say Powell is unlawful, what lawful person can object? So piously the priests of liberalism tell their beads.

But for those who have the red blood of freedom in their veins instead of the blue ink of bourgeois law, there is a different criterion than the slaveholders' lawbooks (which are written for the occasion, at that!).

Adam Clayton Powell is a battler for the oppressed. Lester Maddox is an admitted, even boasted instrument of the oppressor. For those who look beyond the fine print of the extremely flexible House Rules or the even more flexible legal procedures of Georgia legislatures, there is an unfailing standard to judge by: the standard of which side are you on?

## Buffalo Pickets "No.2" 3rd Time

Johnson's War Salesman Not Selling Here!

BUFFALO, Jan. 6 — For the third time within a year Hubert Humphrey has been greeted by an anti-war picket line here. Last spring a demonstration organized by Youth Against War and Fascism greeted him appropriately in front of the Hotel Statler, and again in the fall, upon his appearance at the State Democratic Convention in Memorial Auditorium. Yesterday, the Buffalo Committee Against the War in Vietnam mustered fifty energetic and determined demonstrators in front of the august portals of the Buffalo Club in downtown Buffalo. The Niagara Frontier Civil Liberties Union Chapter sent observers, since there had been police and right-wing harassment on the two previous Humphrey appearances.

At one point the police attempted to bully the picketers to move their demonstration away from the front entrance of the Club. "You'll be more effective over there," the cops said. The line refused to give up its position. The reason for the attempt to move the picket line was soon revealed. A limousine pulled up to the entrance. "It's

him!" went the word through the line. Everyone turned and silently watched the door open.

As soon as the rubbery face of the Vice President appeared, a roar that sounded as though it came from 500 throats rather than 50, boomed out. "Stop the war! End the draft! Bring the troops home." His tentative smile disappeared and he walked quickly into the Buffalo Club.

The line received many expressions of support from passersby. There were four counter-pickets, well-known Buffalo fascists. This malodorous crew were unsuccessful in their attempts at provocations, etc.

A release issued by the Buffalo Committee Against the War in Vietnam stated in part: "Liberal" Hubert Humphrey, Johnson's travelling war salesman and Big Business' war hawk can not gloss over the genocidal nature of U.S. aggression in Vietnam... the perpetrators of this mad adventure either sit back comfortably in Washington or take to the road in an effort to use super-salesmanship to sell their program of genocide in Southeast Asia."

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## Puerto Rican Foe Of U.S. Imperialism Defies Draft and Wins

NEW YORK — Gabriel Mezquida, first Puerto Rican to refuse military service as a Marxist-Leninist, was in this city last week and declared:

"I refused to have anything to do with the draft. I refused to take the medical examination, etc., because I do not recognize the validity of the occupation of my country by U.S. imperialism."

Mezquida, a member of the National Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, had been apprehended for his stand and brought to U.S. Federal Court in San Juan, where his formal trial was to have begun this January 24. But although he adamantly continued in his militant position, the Court dismissed the case.

"I do not know for sure exactly why they did this," he said. "But I and all my comrades are convinced it is because the U.S. Government fears a wider popularization of the case in Puerto Rico, where the draft is already a big issue."

"The Nationalists (Puerto Rican Nationalist Party) have been opposing it for 26 years on the basis that a foreign country (the U.S.) has no right to draft Puerto Ricans into its army."

"In my case, I take the same position — besides opposing the war both as a Marxist and as a colonial."

There have already been several demonstrations against the draft on the island — even more than against the war. And although there is much un-

## Union Gains For Nurses

YOUNGSTOWN — After a thirteen-day "mass resignation" demonstration by 350 (out of 400) registered nurses, the Youngstown Hospital Association agreed to recognize the Nurses Association as their bargaining agent and to grant substantial wage increases, better working conditions, hospitalization, overtime pay, better vacations, etc. So sweeping was this victory that the hospitals in surrounding areas began granting relatively large increases in wages in order to prevent the spread of unionization.

The nurses' success was the result of previous militant actions by other workers in the Youngstown area. In August, 1966, the garbage collectors struck and quickly won their demands. Maintenance workers at schools organized; over one thousand non-professional hospital workers got a contract without even having to strike; teachers struck for a few days and won an agreement to have a union election; welfare workers in Cleveland struck for a couple of weeks and forced the county to make concessions; city and county workers in Northeast Ohio are on the move.

In addition to the traditional strike weapon, these workers are using the devices of reporting off "sick" and mass resignations and they are winning.

employment (about 14 per cent generally, and as high as 30 or 40 per cent in small towns like Comerio), few young men want a U.S. job with a gun.



## Behind That Longshore Strike

## The Freedom Fight in U.S.-Occupied Saigon

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

On Dec. 23, the U.S. imperialist high command in Vietnam made a remarkable admission of failure—a forced admission to be sure but none the less revealing for that. On that date Gen. Westmoreland's headquarters announced that for the first time in the Vietnam war, U.S. troops would take over the "protection" of Saigon.

The reason? "Whole platoons" of liberation fighters were operating in the city.

Four hundred thousand troops and \$21 billion worth of military hardware—and the robbers cannot even protect their own lair!

But despite the admission of weakness by the U.S. military, this confession about "whole platoons" of liberation fighters is in fact a gross understatement. For in truth the U.S.-Ky regime faces a veritable army of opposition in Saigon which continually conducts harassing operations and undermines the U.S. war effort.

That army is the working class of Saigon.

Millions of dollars worth of U.S. food and war supplies in the warehouses of the NLF have been uncovered by U.S. troops during military operations. U.S. ships have been repeatedly sunk in the harbors of Saigon. When the U.S. bombed residential areas of Hanoi, Saigon was turned into a besieged fortress by the urban resistance movement.

It is no accident that just four days after U.S. troops took over the defense of Saigon, thousands of dockworkers walked off the piers and a general strike was called to protest the use of GIs as strikebreakers. (The general strike did not succeed because of U.S. terror and not for lack of sympathy by the workers with the NLF.)

On the contrary, the capitalist press has entirely concealed all information about the very existence of the Liberation Workers Association, whose program and activities are thoroughly integrated with the tactics of the NLF. Formed on May Day, 1961, for the purpose of protecting the economic and political rights of the working class, the LWA has played a vital role in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. It has the loyalty of the vast majority of the South Vietnamese proletariat.

In a recently published pamphlet from Hanoi, entitled Vietnamese Studies No. 8 Ton Vy gives an outline of the succession of U.S. puppets. He describes the tremendous achievements of struggle in the cities.

Before Washington threw the full weight of its military machine on the heads of the urban population, the working class organizations led the struggle for the reunification of the country, which was combined with the fight for class demands against the corporations. In 1955 there were 292 strikes in the cities and on the plantations

and there were 504 in 1956.

On May 1, 1956, the trade unions led a demonstration of 200,000 people in Saigon demanding freedom from imperialist economic control and peaceful reunification of Vietnam under the Geneva Accords.

Then came Diem, the open sabotage of Geneva by the U.S., no-strike laws and concentration camps for militant labor leaders.

Nevertheless, on May Day, 1958, the Labor Confederation, the Workers Confederation and the Labor Force led half a million people in another Saigon demonstration against the U.S.-Diem regime.

As the U.S. began its open takeover of South Vietnam in 1961, numerous strikes were organized in which 299,000 workers participated during the year. One of the most outstanding actions was a two-week strike against the U.S. oil company, Stanvac, which was supported by 50,000 plantation workers and 60,000 transport workers in Saigon, who boycotted U.S. firms. Altogether during the year 1962 over 490,000 workers participated in strikes and demonstrations against the regime.

One of the highlights of the struggle during the year 1963, was the takeover of two U.S.-owned factories Vinatexco and Vinatrefinco, by 2000 workers. The seizure received wide-

spread support and dramatized the struggle against the U.S..

The intensified U.S. military buildup made open class struggle increasingly dangerous. And on January 17, 1964, U.S. puppet troops sprayed strikers with toxic chemicals. Tens of thousands of workers throughout the cities of the South protested by walking off their jobs.

On May Day, 1964, worker commando units sank a 15,000-ton U.S. aircraft carrier, the Card, right in Saigon Harbor and during the same week 1200 taxi drivers boycotted all Americans.

For all its firepower and troops, U.S. imperialism was thrown into a panic by the rising tide of the working class opposition. Such was their fear, that on Aug. 10, 1964, the U.S. sent an infantry battalion and four carloads of special police to crush a strike for democratic demands by women workers at the U.S.-controlled Minytex weaving mills.

But U.S. repression only eggs on the liberation struggle. And it was the general strike of 200,000 workers in Saigon which dealt the death blow to the puppet regime of Nguyen Kahn on September 21, 1964.

Every increase in U.S. forces put the Vietnamese workers in a more strategic position for sabotage. Numerous strikes against the unloading

and transportation of U.S. military supplies have been organized.

In January, 1965, Danang, Hue and Quang Tri were temporarily paralyzed by a general strike at the three U.S. base areas. In February of the same year, Navy arsenal workers and Saigon railway workers struck against being forced to participate in U.S. raids. In June, dock workers at Vung Tao refused to unload U.S. military supplies and in July, Danang longshoremen followed suit.

This is only a sampling of the mighty struggle of South Vietnamese proletariat in the fight to oust the U.S. invader. The city workers live right under the gun of the U.S.-Ky regime of terror and have still been able to assassinate thousands of army officers in the past three years. Working class districts in Saigon have their own defense units and intelligence networks. The U.S. is constantly under attack from the workers.

As the editors of the Vietnam Studies put it, and as the U.S. military command knows full well:

"The U.S. aggressors have dreamt of turning the cities of South Vietnam into their 'safe rear', where they can find human and material resources for their war of aggression. This safe rear' has now become a front line."



Tran Van Thanh, NLF union leader, being greeted by railroad workers in Hanoi station

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mass organizations, party institutions and governmental authorities of the People's Republic.

It must, however, be remembered that the cultural revolution is after all a revolution, and as such, is subject to the same general laws as all revolutions. Rarest of all social phenomena is the revolution that can be fully developed strictly within the confines of the existing social and political framework!

## The struggle has its own logic

Nor can it be said that there exists complete freedom of choice as regards either the method or form of the struggle, when once the battle has been joined. Indeed, much depends on the time, the concrete circumstance and the character of the adversary in the given struggle.

This does not, however, mean that there is any solid ground for assuming as the capitalist press would have us believe, that the great mass organizations of the Chinese people, their formidable party institutions

and the numerous governmental organs including the army will not loyally support the cultural revolution and the leaders who are at its head.

## "Strife is the father of all things"

The attainment of such a world historic victory for socialism as is envisioned by the architects of the cultural revolution could probably not be won without a serious internal struggle even under more favorable circumstances than prevail today. But in the context of the present historical conjuncture, it is made doubly difficult by the existence of revisionism as the dominant political tendency in the international Communist movement. Its definitive triumph in the ruling stratum of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the principal parties of Western Europe and elsewhere could not but reverberate on the social soil of the People's Republic of China.

The difference is that the leadership of the Chinese C.P. has not only resisted the trend, but has waged a struggle against it.

The cardinal fact that emerges from the sum and

substance of the dispute is that — the Chinese C.P. may be fighting the crucial battle for Socialism, which if lost would set the proletariat and the liberation movements of the world back for decades. The alternative to the present leadership and its political line — it must be faced squarely — is a neo-bourgeois restorationist regime. That is what really is at stake in the cultural revolution in China.

## On the other side of the class line

Here, in the U.S. such presumably polar opposites as The Militant, spokesman for the SWP, and The Worker, spokesman for the C.P., find common ground in hostile attack against the cultural revolution. The viewpoint from which they launch their attacks is not really what counts. What counts is that they have lined up on the other side of the class line in this momentous struggle.

For our part, whatever the shortcomings and however serious and profound the differences over the problems that are raised by the over-all character of the current struggle, we believe that no real progressive or socialist, let alone a genuine Communist, can fail to give unequivocal support to the cultural revolution and the leadership at its head.



# After The Lynching Party

By A. T. SIMPSON

Let no one be deceived by what is presently happening. It is not just a question of Adam Clayton Powell. It wasn't in 1958, when the political bosses of Tammany Hall were out to hang him; but did not succeed. It has never been. Nor is the result of a few days ago just the disfranchisement of a group of people in Harlem. It goes further than just that.

This could rightly be termed another major clash in that open conflict between the oppressed Black masses struggling for freedom — "What is out there for us?" — and the oppressor. A conflict many times misunderstood by even the main participants, but always there. A conflict so great that the future of Black Freedom depends on its outcome and the future of our civilization pivots on its results.

What usually comes after one lynching when the fascists are in control is another lynching and more terror. If nothing is done to stop them, a reign of terror is in the making that may be even greater than that which was witnessed in the period of acute racial conflict which followed the Reconstruction era.

The lynching of Powell on Capital Hill comes in the aftermath of what has been termed "the greatest social revolutionary movement this country has ever witnessed." Having been stepped-up in the mid-fifties with the historic Montgomery Bus Boycott, the movement was given its greatest impetus at the turn of the Sixties with the dramatic sit-in struggles, which in turn became part of the attending tidal wave of protest which swept the entire Southland.

The revolt turned militant and crept swiftly and perceptibly into every rat and roach-infested nook and cranny in the ghettos of the North — and brought

forth leaders like Malcolm X who didn't hesitate to "tell it like it is," and Stokely Carmichael who has made it plain what is wanted.

Along the way the struggle to keep the movement going was aborted by the leadership and many times cries of "You sold us out!" complemented the cries of "Freedom Now!" Malcolm X was murdered and what could have really evolved into a revolution to radically change the old order and to make for the establishment of the new became dominated by a peaceful non-violent move for concessions which so far has brought forth only legislative enactments.

These enactments promised the oppressed Black masses freedom from the bonds of segregation and discrimination, protection of civil rights, restoration of the franchise and political rights, and broadened opportunities for education and economic advancement.

As in the days of the Reconstruction after the Civil War when "thirty acres and a mule" was asked for, the promises which came from these demands have been more often broken than fulfilled.

Having sold out for the mere thirty pieces of Judas' silver, the established Black leadership has become as hopelessly helpless as a castrated rooster being fattened for the frying pan. They may not have been able to effectively help Powell if they had wanted to. A. Phillip Randolph was the only one among them who had the courage to issue a call for action in Powell's behalf.

The most miserable performance of all was that of those mealy-mouthed hypocritical liberals led by Javits and Kennedy. They just stood by and waited while the racists openly prepared for and later performed the act — knowing full well in advance what was going



to happen. Then, after it was all over, they cried out that what the racists had done to Powell was wrong.

But this should have surprised nobody, even though it disgusted nearly everybody.

The real question is what happened to the militant advocates of Black Power whose voices could have made a great impact and whose help can still make the important difference.

Why was Powell the victim? For more than thirty years, this "Disciple of Protest" has spoken out and fought against the separate-but-equal type of thinking that has kept Black Americans in cultural and economic deprivation. In that time he has risen from a militant protest leader in the Harlem ghetto to the heights of capitalist politics. It is hard to find one who has done more than Powell to dramatize the Civil Rights issue.

Whatever Powell did when he was not championing the cause of civil rights has been the accepted thing for those on Capitol Hill to do ... and that he did on a very small scale when compared with all the others.

There was no question that the racists looked upon Powell as the most powerful Black man in America. They couldn't control him ... Only the Black masses should have the power to do that. So

of drums, and use of the rougher horn sounds.

Archie Shepp, whose quartet played the second half of the program, appeared in West African clothes. For almost an hour, the group gave a performance that was improvised and yet always under control. Then, to shouts of delight from the audience, Shepp swung into an older style that showed where black music comes from. It was a fitting conclusion to the occasion.

## Black Music at SNCC Benefit Linked to Liberation Struggle

NEW YORK — An important SNCC benefit was held at the Village Theatre on December 22, in which Stokely Carmichael shared the stage with jazz groups led by Marion Brown, Jackie McLean, and Archie Shepp.

As A.B. Spellman, the M.C. for the evening, and Carmichael both pointed out, the benefit linked the new jazz with the Black Power movement. A generation of black jazz musicians has come forth which is determined to take full control of the music and to put it in the service of the black liberation struggle. The benefit came just as national magazines began carrying articles on the new jazz.

Afro-American music has always been deeply rooted and important in the black community. But until now, most of the publicity on "jazz" has gone to the Benny Goodmans and Dave Brubecks. Black radicals like LeRoi Jones and Archie Shepp feel that these white musicians have unfairly profited by copying black musicians, and have deprived the music of its original significance.

The aspirations of the new jazz musicians are many. They want economic justice for the black musician. They want to get the music out of the nightclubs, whose real business is alcohol, and into surroundings where the music can be heard. They want to expose the State Department musicians such as Benny Goodman.

Most notably, Archie Shepp and others have condemned the U.S. government for its aggression in Vietnam and around the world, and of course for its oppression of black people here at home.

Master of Ceremonies Spellman recently wrote a book, *Four Lives in the Bebop Business*, which documents jazz's roots in the black community,

the exploitation of the musicians, and the aspirations of the new musicians.

In his speech, Carmichael condemned U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the whole colonial world, and stressed that the Black People should not fight imperialism's wars. The juxtaposition of Carmichael's high political awareness with a score of the black community's musicians was a logical, timely, and refreshing development.

The music itself is angry, an assault on America's Mantovani and Coca-Cola culture and the racists behind it. After all, it would be ridiculous to expect today's black music to be sugary and sedate. The music also shows continuity with African music in its energy, use

## Black Power in the Bahamas

An all-Black party in the Bahamas won half the seats in the national parliament in a stunning upset vote on January 10. The organization is called the Progressive Liberal Party and it increased its representation from 4 to 18 in last Tuesday's dramatic ballot upheaval.

The Black People, who comprise 80 per cent of the island nation, sang and danced all night. The Bongo drums and Bahamian cow bells were played until dawn to hail the advent of Black Power in parliament.

The formerly reigning United Bahamian Party (UBP) was reduced from 30 to 18 seats. The Progressive Liberals are expected to gain the support of the one newly-elected Labor Party member, Randol Fawkes, and most probably take over the Cabinet Government.

This news has been played down or

he had to go.

It was no surprise that when the Civil Rights movement began to approach a waning stage and the new mobilization for the restoration of white supremacy got under way, Powell would be the main target.

Powell may be out. But Lester Maddox is certainly in. Wallace remains. The war in Vietnam continues. The right wingers know Reagan is their man and Brooke (recently-elected Senator from Massachusetts) has made it clear that the Black masses shouldn't expect anything of him.

Powell's future, as well as the future of the Black liberation struggle, rests with where the nation's militant Black masses will go from here.

It is not just an issue affecting those who live in the neighborhood of 125th Street in New York; it's statewide, it's national, it transcends both of the bourgeois political parties. It is a fight Harlemites the nation over must win.

## Alabama Cops Kill Again

In Alabama (from where come some of the most vicious opponents of Adam Clayton Powell) a deputy sheriff and one of his henchmen beat a young Afro-American, threw him in jail where he died, and then claimed he had died from a fall. The incident occurred last November but was only revealed last week.

The coroner of Elmore County, Alabama gave the official stamp to the story that James Motley had died from an "accident."

James Earl Motley, a young construction laborer, was riding with friends driving from Montgomery to Wetumpka. Elmore County Sheriff Harvey Connor stopped their car, supposedly for a license check, and began questioning them about whether they had been drinking in Montgomery. James Motley protested that the deputy had no authority over what they had done in Montgomery.

Witnesses said that Deputy Connor with another man, who was unidentified, took James Motley out of the car and began beating him with what was apparently a club or blackjack.

State troopers had also arrived on the scene. They stood by and watched the deputy sheriff beat the young man.

After the beating Mr. Motley was taken to jail where he was later found dead. It was claimed that he had two "falls" while in the jail. The coronor, Dr. James R. Benson, blamed his death on these "falls" since he felt that the beating "had not been severe enough" to kill him.

At latest report none of the Congressional representatives of Alabama who opposed Mr. Powell's "abuse of power" had anything to say about this police action that cost the life of another young Afro-American in Alabama.

suppressed in the United States, primarily because of its significance for the Black People here.

The United Bahamian Party is notorious for being dominated by the "Bay Street Boys," the white merchant-politicians who also dominate the islands for British imperialism and American gangsterism.

The gangsterism is literally that. One of the biggest enterprises in the Bahamas is casino gambling, which is closely linked to the lush tourist industry. The gambling is controlled mostly by U.S. operators in league with the "Bay Street Boys."

The almost exclusively Black working class has long been aware of this, but only recently saw a chance to take it out of the hands of the gangsters, as the Black leaders of the Progressive Liberals promised to do for the benefit of the masses.

Lyndon Pindling, leader of the PLP, who may be the new premier, charged during the campaign that the government ran things for the benefit of white businessmen (almost an understatement) and promised a fight to change this.

The new government may make no basic claims against capitalist property or imperialism as such. But observers are already wondering if Britain will treat it as they did the early regime of Cheddi Jagan in former British Guiana. At that time, they used gunboats to reverse a legal election.

Whether they do so in this case or not, it looks like one more sun is setting for the British Empire.

JAN. 14 — Mr. Pindling has just been asked to form a government and will now be the first Black Prime Minister of the Bahamas.

## "Democratic" Gov't: Powell Out; Rivers In

# U.S. No. 1 Fascist in House of Reps

Here's a Congressman Who Has to Be Carried Home On Saturday Night by Cops. But He Wants to Lynch Powell and "Flatten Hanoi." So He's Got It Made!

By ELLEN PIERCE

While Adam Clayton Powell, progressive chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee is out of Congress, Mendel Rivers, reactionary chairman of the House Armed Services Committee is in...

Rivers would never have gotten through the front door if the 14th Amendment to the Constitution meant anything (this reduces representation from areas where Afro-Americans are barred from voting).

But even aside from that, Rivers ought to be ousted as a living incarnation of American fascism.

Rivers can hardly open his mouth without saying something wildly reactionary. "In 1950 he publicly urged President Truman to threaten North Korea with an atomic bomb and in 1960 he urged Eisenhower to order an invasion of Cuba (long before the 'liberal' Kennedy finally got around to it).

"The following year, in a House address, he sprang to the defense of the John Birch Society and its 'courageous and perceptive founder,' Robert Welch... 'There's a lot more reason to say a good word for them than for CORE or some of these other outfits,' remarks the Representative from South Carolina. He also has a good word for Franco and the fascist army, calling them 'the greatest allies we ever picked up... One of the few on earth I trust.'" (New York Times, Aug. 29, 1965)

On the Vietnam war he is one of the most bloodthirsty of the hawks. He calls for genocide: "Flatten Hanoi and let world opinion go fly a kite."

This "solution" for the Vietnam war is not merely a product of his anti-communism; it reflects Rivers' ugly racist views too. Hanoi is an Asian city.

As for China, he advocates "wiping out its nuclear capabilities."

Last year his committee helped smooth the way for escalation in Southeast Asia by approving a bill to allow the President to call up 190,000 Reserves and National Guard troops with-

out declaring a national emergency.

Anti-war activities in the U.S. bring out the worst in Rivers. The hysterical anti-draft card burning bill, providing five years in jail and/or \$10,000 fine for a symbolic act of anti-war protest, was his legislative accomplishment of 1965. This law passed in the House 393 to 1, and was sponsored in the Senate by his colleague from South Carolina, Strom Thurmond.

A year later, Rivers was complaining that the Justice Department failed to prosecute draft card burners. He wrote to Attorney General Katzenbach demanding tighter enforcement of draft laws, and threatened to summon Katzenbach before an Armed Services Committee hearing if he failed to answer the letter.

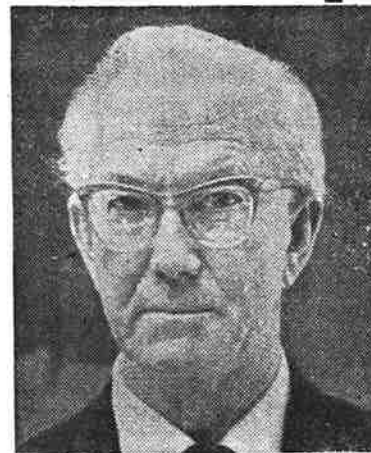
In a speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars last August 26, Rivers attacked Stokely Carmichael's anti-draft moves and vowed to seek tighter religious deferment laws if Mohammed Ali (Cassius Clay) got a deferment as a Muslim minister. He even attacked white, Christian, anti-communist Robert McNamara for allegedly blocking construction of a nuclear powered fleet.

Rivers' voting record has been straight Dixiecrat: against the civil rights bills of '60 and '64, against the Powell amendment to withdraw Federal aid from segregated schools, against cloture to end filibusters, against anti-lynch laws. Need it be asked how he voted on barring Adam Clayton Powell?

If, in recent years, he has voted for a few "Great Society" bills — the mass transit and food stamp plans and the creation of a National Council on the Arts — it is only because Johnson can be trusted to implement these programs in the most reactionary manner possible.

In Rivers' home state, South Carolina, 35 per cent of the population is black, but the Black People account for only 15 per cent of the voters. In Rivers' district, the First C.D., there are two counties where the registered whites exceed the number of voting age whites!

Allendale County has 2,900 white voters but only 2,531 voting age whites.



Looks Harmless — So Does Cyanide

In Dorchester County 7,864 whites are registered although only 7,121 whites are of voting age. (According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, March 19, 1965) Black registration ranges from 6.8 to 52.5 per cent of all Afro-Americans of voting age.

In addition to the gerrymandered and racist voting procedures, the election of a Congressman from South Carolina's First C.D. is a complete farce since in the past several elections Rivers has run unopposed.

He has called U Thant "the so-called secretary of the so-called United Nations." This was not an attack on the UN as a front for the U.S., but an exhibition of his xenophobic and utterly racist mentality.

Racism rules in the Armed Services Committee too. For instance, in Sept. 1963, President Kennedy ordered the military to end racial discrimination — at least on paper. Public accommodations that barred Afro-Americans were supposed to be declared off limits to soldiers.

In reaction to this, Carl Vinson, then committee chairman, with Rivers' backing, called for the court-martial of any officer promoting desegregation by "directing in any manner the way in which a member of the Armed Forces lives off military bases." (U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 30, 1963) Any officer invoking off-limits sanctions was also to be court-martialed.

This was needed, explained Vinson, to prevent the military from "interfering in civilian affairs"!

Rivers succeeded Vinson as chairman of this powerful committee, called "the junta" by one member, in 1965. In addition to deciding on billions of dollars worth of military purchases, the House Armed Services Committee is an informal "watchdog" over the CIA. (Needless to say, this watchdog only barks.) Since early 1965, its members have received classified intelligence briefings every Tuesday morning.

In 1964, the committee "approved 80 bills, affecting every Congressional district in the land... Many of its members are promoters and defenders (if not stockholders and directors -ed.) of large military complexes and production facilities in their home areas. Understandably, the committee has always been a bastion of strong defense." (New York Times, Aug. 29, 1965)

Rivers' pork barrel antics (and they are many) are not considered "un-ethical" by Congress. His daughter Marion works for the House Committee in the District of Columbia, a Congressional contrivance to prevent the black majority in Washington D.C. from having any say in local affairs.

Personally, Rivers is a ludicrous character. He wears his white hair long in emulation of his hero, slaveholder John C. Calhoun. The New York Times cautiously called him one of "Washington's hell-raisers."

Drew Pearson put it more bluntly on January 9, saying "Rivers is simply unable to handle his liquor. More than once the Navy has discreetly loaded him into an ambulance and whisked him off to Bethesda Naval Hospital to dry out. Five times last year his committee was obliged to postpone action on a \$17.8 billion military authorization bill while the genteel chairman was taking the cure."

But there has arisen no hue and cry about Rivers' "absenteeism."

For relaxation he travels, and generously urges others on his committee to take advantage of the "inspection tours" he can arrange. France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey were all stops on a 46-day jaunt in 1964 — at the taxpayers' expense.

But no outraged magazine editors have pictured him lying in a Bimini hammock on their front pages!

The Air Force in particular arranges weekend tours for members of the Armed Services Committees. "From Florida to Nebraska to Colorado to California there are cocktail parties, steak dinners, brandy and cigars." (Harpers Magazine March 1964)

It is clear that fascism has a friend in L. Mendel Rivers.

## —War Crimes Tribunal Secretary Arrested in France

Continued from Page 1

ately made known to Maitre Gisele Halimi and Laurent Schwartz in Paris and Bertrand Russell in Wales. Protests and enquiries by these three throughout the night produced similar lack of cooperation.

Maitre Halimi, as Ralph Schoenman's lawyer, took her enquiries to top level in the Ministry of the Interior, but without results. Ralph Schoenman was kept for a whole night incommunicado.

This abduction of an American citizen, who was in France for one night on his way to Cambodia, and who holds the position of Secretary General of the International War Crimes Tribunal, is particularly hard to explain in the light of the declared foreign policy of the French Government. The Tribunal Committee protested vigorously and appealed to the French people to make every effort to redress this illegal action, and to continue to support the International War Crimes Tribunal.

At the Press Conference held at the Orly Airport at 9 o'clock this morning, Representatives of the Tribunal in Paris were informed by the Police de l'Air that Ralph Schoenman had been "forbidden entry to France as the result of a request

originating from London, perhaps from an American source."

It was stated that the action of the police was "only in response to a particular request and did not represent any formal decision by the French authorities." They added that Ralph Schoenman would be allowed to continue on his scheduled trip to Cambodia,



and he left on the Air France flight to Phnom Penh at 11 A.M. this morning.

The second investigating team will be investigating border violations in Cambodia, and interviewing victims and witnesses of civilian bombardment from the liberated zones of South Vietnam.

The members of the team, which is expected to stay in Asia for 3 or 4 weeks, are Ralph Schoenman; Lawrence Daly, General Secretary of

the Scottish Union of Mineworkers; Dr. Behar, doctor of medicine from France; Carol Brightman, editor of Viet Report and a student of chemical warfare, United States; Tariq Ali, former president of the Oxford Union, from Pakistan; Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, a Dominican citizen from Toronto, where he is a physician specialising in radiology. He is a member of the New Democratic Party (Canada's Labour Party).

## A PETITION FOR JUSTICE

Here is how you can help the War Crimes Tribunal in its trial of Johnson and other U.S. leaders as war criminals.

The following is a statement of the

Tribunal to be circulated and signed. Signatures should be sent to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 342 West 84th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024, telephone 212 799-0364.

**We, the undersigned, support the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell. We feel a solemn obligation to expose war crimes and to indict those who perpetrate them. We believe that U. S. actions in Vietnam must be examined exhaustively and the findings made known to world opinion.**



Behind Ian Smith, S. Africa; Behind S. Africa, the U.S.

# Why Rhodesia Gov't Can Defy UN

By HENRY STONE

Recent developments in the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South-West Africa situations have made it clearer than ever before that a crucial factor in the future of Africa is U.S. investment commitments in South Africa.

Early in 1966, the continuing anti-imperialist struggle in Africa was set back by a number of right-wing coups, which undoubtedly were carried out with CIA support. But subsequent events in Southern Africa have brought a revolutionary showdown across all of the continent that much closer.

A major indication of renewed African militance was the speech of Simon Kapwepwe, Zambia's Foreign Minister, in the UN on December 9. The basis of Kapwepwe's impassioned attack on the British role in the Ian Smith rebellion was an economic fact of great significance:

Britain's "voluntary sanctions" against Rhodesia have not significantly hurt the Rhodesian economy. But they have drastically affected the Zambian economy.

By scrupulously obeying the sanctions and cutting normal economic relations with Rhodesia, Zambia (formerly North Rhodesia) has lost untold millions of dollars; while the Ian Smith regime has survived by dealing with South Africa, West Germany, and Britain itself, all of which have ignored the sanctions.

As Kapwepwe pointed out, "The added expenditure created as a result of economic dislocations following UDI is likely to run close to half of our normal budget for the current financial year that is, nearly \$84 million." Britain's offer of \$39 million in "aid" even has strings attached. "So in

effect, it is nothing more than the British aiding themselves at the expense of Zambia," according to Kapwepwe.

Kapwepwe asserted that "Zambia is willing to go all the way with mandatory comprehensive sanctions in which South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique would be forced to comply. But Zambia is not prepared to go half the way, thereby subjecting ourselves to greater economic sacrifices to no avail."

The key to the situation is South Africa. If South Africa can continue its present policies without opposition, then no sanctions can topple the Smith regime, because South Africa can always bail Smith out.

But it is the support for South Africa by the U.S., along with Britain, which assures that only token sanctions are adopted against Rhodesia and that the UN really does nothing to aid the Africans in Southern Africa.

And why does the U.S. give complete support to South Africa? Because over 250 American companies operate in South Africa and have earnings of at least \$100 million annually from those operations. Because Chase Manhattan and First National City Banks are participants in the \$40 million revolving loan to the South African government and its Industrial Development Corporation. Because Ford, GM, and Chrysler produce 60 per cent of all cars sold in South Africa. Because Mobil, Caltex, and Shell, Coca-Cola, International Harvester, and Engelhard Industries are in South Africa. Because Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax are not only in South Africa, but in South-West Africa as well, and certainly wouldn't want the latter country to fall into the hands of the Africans.

## Another U.S.-UN Scandal South-West Africa

Totalitarian South Africa, fronting to a large extent for U.S. big business, is already plundering South-West Africa.

On October 12, the UN passed a resolution terminating South Africa's administration of South-West Africa, and putting South-West Africa under the UN. But this has proved to be no more than a slap on the wrist.

At the close of the Twenty-First UN Assembly, on December 21, it was revealed by African delegates that South Africa is actually going ahead to implement the infamous Odendaal Report, which was previously analyzed in Workers World on March 19, 1964 and August 1, 1966.

The South African government has started to remove the Nama people from their ancestral lands at Hoachanas to a barren desert, which in effect amounts to genocide.

The character of the UN is shown by the fact that although this development was reported to the UN late in December, and although the UN now "administers" South-West Africa, absolutely nothing was done about the situation. The Assembly adjourned, and postponed consideration of the monstrous action against the people of South-West Africa until April 1967.

It is also significant that during the same period, Tshombe was again advertising for mercenaries in South Africa in order to resume operations in the Congo.

What the Africans see is a drive by the settlers of Southern Africa to push their white apartheid-genocide regime up from the Cape through Rhodesia, South-West Africa, into the Congo and, as Zambia Foreign Minister Kapwepwe said, even to Cairo. Even the African conservatives are bitter and apprehensive about these developments, and they said so in the UN.

Kapwepwe charged Britain with giving complete support to Ian Smith, the South African government and the whole white settler offensive.

But even more important is the complete United States support for South Africa, which is spearheading the plunder of South-West Africa and the looming war against the Black People in (Zimbabwe) Rhodesia and farther north.

## African Prisoners Under the Lash

The following is a translation of a bulletin on political prisoners in South Africa passed in May, 1966 by the Tricontinental Congress in Havana. It is particularly important in view of the support being given by the Johannesburg regime to the white supremacists in Rhodesia and because of the general crisis of imperialism in Southern Africa.

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The South African Republic has been converted into a gigantic concentration camp. Here, in the land of their birth, more than 12 million Africans are subjected to the worst forms of exploitation and to inhuman conditions of slavery under a special form of colonialism (Apartheid) exercised by the white minority of 3 million racists.

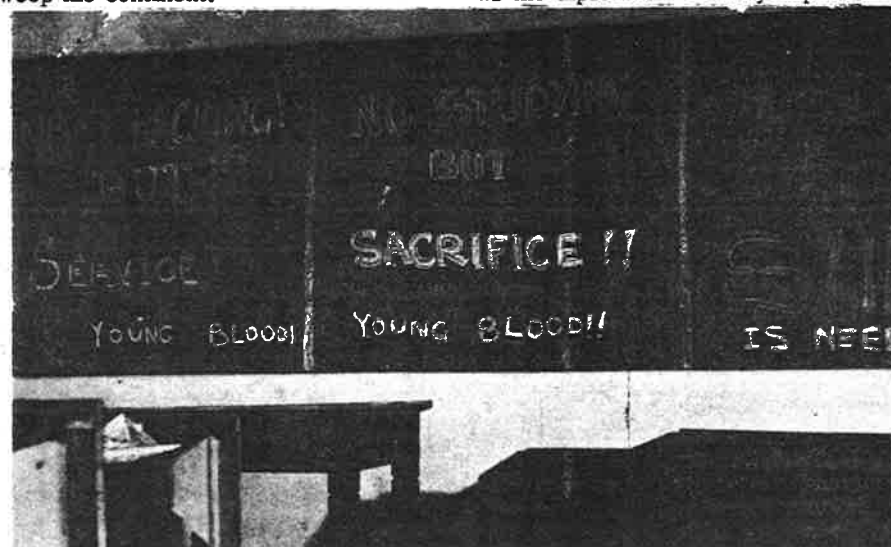
Many of the heroes of South African liberty languish and die, not only in the innumerable jails; in the reservations exclusively for blacks hundreds of thousands of people are imprisoned. These reservations have been erected in accordance with the policy of "separate development" of the Johannesburg fascists. In Soweto, one of these zones, only one business is having any kind of success: a funeral parlor.

As Fortune Magazine revealed in December of 1966, the book value of U.S. investment in South African companies is \$150 million. But actually the total U.S. investment in Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corp. alone is \$100 million. The book value of direct U.S. investment in South Africa is \$460 million. But the actual value of this investment is twice the book value. In fact, the real total U.S. investment in South Africa is well over a billion dollars.

Britain has an even greater investment in South Africa, \$2.5 billion book value with annual earnings of \$168 million. But the U.S. is so much more powerful than Britain that it can be expected to edge Britain out in South Africa just as it did elsewhere after the Second World War.

In short, it is the U.S. and Britain which are irrevocably backing apartheid's genocidal offensive in Africa. And in order to stop the settlers' offensive, sooner or later the Africans will have to strike back at the settlers still in the Kenyan highlands, at Belgians in the Congo, and at other whites throughout Africa who are allied with the settlers and with imperialism.

As Kapwepwe repeatedly stated, if the West can do no better on Rhodesia than it has already, the outcome will be a new and more radical set of African leaders and a war that will sweep the continent.



Signs in a Pretoria, S. Africa, Schoolroom, calling on the black students to leave their books and join fight for freedom.

Data published in the South African press itself assure that "more than 1,000 Africans are arrested daily because of the passes which they are obliged to carry. In 1959, every two seconds of every day a prisoner somewhere in South Africa was beaten. From June 1962 to June 1963, 82,206 lashes were given 17,394 prisoners. Until 1960, 68 persons were hanged annually. In 1963, the total was 120 and in 1964 it was 89. The number of prisoners has practically doubled since 1954, and, at present it has reached a level such that for each 44 South Africans there is one prisoner."

More than 8,000 revolutionary leaders and activists of the national liberation organizations are to be found in the terrible prison at Robben Island or in others similar. Some 50 political prisoners have been sentenced to death. One of these was the union leader, Viyisile Mini, who went to the scaffold shouting "Freedom for our nation", and "The power to the people".

It was indicated in the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, celebrated in Havana last January,

## U.S. Bomb Record Worse Than Nazis!

In Harrison Salisbury's Jan. 10 dispatch to the New York Times, he asserts among other things that an unnamed British diplomat in apologizing for the U.S. bombing of civilians in Vietnam, said to him:

"Who remembers that the Nazis were trying to destroy the motor works in Coventry? All we remember is that the Luftwaffe destroyed the Cathedral."

Remarkable rationalization!

First, it is a matter-of-fact admission that the U.S. Government is conducting itself like the Nazi Government did. And second, it is a quarter-of-a-century ex post facto apology for the Nazis themselves!

But a small comment is needed, nevertheless.

The Nazis, it seems, managed to stick close enough to "military targets" to kill "only" 380 civilians in Coventry. (The diplomat "remembers" only the Cathedral, because on the whole, it was "only" working people that were killed.)

But the U.S. and Britain, in February 1945, bombed Dresden, which was not considered a military target at all by most experts, and managed to kill 135,000 civilians — far more than in either Hiroshima or Nagasaki — in a steady 14-hour attack.

If the U.S. Government was this brutal when it was supposed to be fighting against the Nazis, how considerate can it be expected to be when it is openly imitating the Nazis, as the diplomat correctly implies?

however, that the South African people has not simply faced this situation with folded arms. Many patriots are planning and working toward the realization of the dreams of the oppressed. Resistance to white domination has now entered the armed struggle phase.

The Political Commission of the Tricontinental Conference condemned imperialist domination in South Africa and issued a call to all participants in the Conference to act:

1. To initiate a complete economic, diplomatic and cultural boycott (this latter is to extend to the field of sports as well) and to proclaim an embargo on petroleum and arms.
2. To reinforce the National Liberation Organization of South Africa and all of its units by giving it all material aid possible.
3. To set at liberty all political prisoners.
4. To overthrow the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, and the fascist Salazar regimes in Angola and Mozambique and to realize the total national independence of the oppressed African people in these countries.

Translated by J.L.

# Cambodia Stands Up to U.S., Protests Border Violations

The U.S. Air Force is continually violating the neutrality of Cambodia in an attempt to escalate the Viet-Nam war to all Southeast Asia.

The Cambodian question is one which concerns the whole of Asia as well as millions of American youth whom the Pentagon is even now plotting to send there. And for that reason, the border violations by the U.S. should be watched carefully and strongly protested in this country.

The following communique from the Royal Government of Cambodia details the latest outrage. It was presented to the President of the Security Council of the UN on January 6 by Huot Sambath, head of the Cambodian Delegation, but not otherwise published so far as we are aware.

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On 30 December 1966 a further extremely grave act of aggression was committed against Khmer territory by the United States - South Viet-Namense forces. This act of aggression was directed against the village of Bathu, Srok of Svay Teap, Province of Svay Rieng, and was carried out with large forces transported by fifty helicopters guided by four L-19 observation aircraft and supported by two F-105 jet aircraft.

Four civilians (including two children) were killed and two were injured as a result of the action. In addition, twelve inhabitants of the village were kidnapped by the aggressors and taken by force into South Viet-Namense ter-



Stadium at Phnompenh during Games of New Emerging Forces (Ganefo) held in Cambodia last fall. Spectators have their own display.

ritory. The village of Bathu suffered serious material damage and many domestic animals were killed or injured during this unjustifiable act of aggression.

The Royal Government protests in the strongest and most forceful manner at this major act of aggression deliber-

ately committed by the United States - South Viet-Namense forces against Khmer territory. It draws attention to the fact that the martyred village of Bathu was previously the victim of a criminal act of aggression on 15 October 1965, on which date it was savagely bombed by aircraft from South

Viet-Nam.

That inexcusable bombing caused many casualties among the civilian population (seven killed and six injured), as well as considerable material damage. Thus, only fourteen months later, the aggressors have again attacked this peaceful village whose location is well known to them, so that they can certainly not invoke the detestable excuse of involuntary 'error'.

It appears, in fact, that this criminal raid on the inhabitants of this defenseless village in the territory of a neutral and peaceful country is a part of the policy of pressure and intimidation which the Washington and Saigon Governments have long directed against Cambodia with the aim of forcing the Khmer Kingdom to renounce its policy of strict neutrality and non-alignment.

The Royal Government calls upon all countries which, like Cambodia, love justice and peace, to protest strongly against this hateful policy pursued by South Viet-Nam and the United States in respect of a peaceful and neutral country which has only limited means of defence.

It also wishes to point out that any further acts of aggression similar to that committed on 30 December 1966 will undoubtedly have the gravest consequences, for it is quite obvious that the massacre of innocent inhabitants of the frontier areas of Cambodia cannot continue any longer.

In any event, the United States and South Viet-Namense authorities will have to bear full responsibility for any consequences of the bloody aggression committed by their armed forces against the village of Bathu.

(Signed) HUOT SAMBATH  
Permanent Rep. of Cambodia

## Podgorny and the Pope

# Do Soviet Leaders Really Have Faith in Vatican's 'Peace' Line?

By VINCENT COPELAND

## POPE AND PODGORNYY

Has the Pope changed? Has he become a force for peace or a possible neutralist where Communism is concerned?

These questions are raised by the coming meeting of the Pope with Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny on January 29, as they were also raised by a similar meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko last year.

Podgorny, by visiting the Pope at this particular time, among other things helps create the impression that the Pope is "sincere" about peace in Vietnam.

But the Pope, like Johnson, calls for "negotiations" in Vietnam. And by "negotiations," as now understood, is meant the semi-surrender of North Vietnam to U.S. imperialism and the total surrender of the National Liberation Forces in South Vietnam.

When even some bourgeois figures now call for complete withdrawal of U.S. troops, the Pope only talks about "peace" — meaning approximately the same kind of imperialist peace that the rest of the imperialists do. When Cardinal Spellman voiced the thoughts of the most extreme warhawks and called for "victory" in his Christmas Day sermon in Vietnam, the Pope who supposedly opposed Spellman on this, totally failed to repudiate his lieutenant.

The Soviet press, to be sure, expressed its shock that Spellman did not carry out the "peace" line of the Pope. This only embellished the Pope's hypocrisy and confused the anti-war masses still further.

The Pope, of course, has not changed. The papacy has bent somewhat to the winds of necessity of late, as it has often done to facilitate its reactionary policies. But it has not given in one

inch to the revolutionary drive of the world's oppressed.

It is the same papacy that thundered against the bourgeois democratic revolution led by Garibaldi in Italy — that collaborated with the fascist Mussolini — that covered up for the Nazi Hitler and called for innumerable "crusades" against Bolshevism. It is the same papacy that now conspires with Cardinal Wysinsky in Poland — quite openly and brazenly, in the direction of capitalist restoration.

No one in the Lenin government ever felt it necessary to make contact with the head of the Catholic Church at a time when the Soviet Union was in infinitely greater difficulties than today. In fact, at that time, many pamphlets and books were written to expose the true role of the papacy.

Why the great interest in papal diplomacy now?

No political adult would suggest that the older Soviet leaders even though revisionists, are suddenly getting religion in the vulgar sense. Podgorny, like Gromyko, obviously has a political motive for his actions, however false and revisionist that motive is.

But it is also true that the attempt to conciliate the Catholic Church does have philosophical if not religious roots, just as does the attempt to conciliate imperialism itself. It is partially based on a misunderstanding of the nature of imperialism. And this misunderstanding is shifted over to the field of religion, too.

A few weeks ago, this was expressed in a rather finished form by a Politburo member of the French Communist Party on a visit to this country.

Roger Garaudy said in New York on November 30 that "increased dialogue" between Christians and Marxists was not only possible in the wake of the

Ecumenical Conference of Vatican II, but "absolutely necessary for world peace."

Garaudy, regarded by some as the French party's leading theoretician, said that both Communism and Christianity had undergone "metamorphosis" and both had abandoned previous claims of possessing "unique, definitive and absolute truth... A

Christian can become a better Christian and a Marxist a better Marxist, if we learn from each other how best to develop our own beliefs," he said. And he imparted the revelation that "Christians could teach Marxists a great deal about love."

There was no criticism of Garaudy on this from the U.S. Communist Party in New York, where he made the statement, although his position was seriously scored in the Congress of the French C.P. this month. The small but growing split to the pro-China left in France is attributed in part to reaction against Garaudy's revisionism in philosophy.

In Lenin's day this would, of course, Continued on Page 8.



Cardinal Spellman Tells Troops  
They're Serving Cause of God



# The Great SST Plane Robbery! Super-Sonic Billions For Transport Bosses

By FREDERICK MATTEGER

It will fly 18,000 mph. It will carry 350 passengers. It may be in service by 1974. And the project to build it will cost U.S. taxpayers some FOUR AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS.

It's called the SST — supersonic transport. On December 31, Boeing Aircraft Corporation was awarded the contract to build it.

But who needs it?

A group of U.S. big businessmen. They view it as a means to profit and power. Their hopes are these: First they build it at our expense. They sell it at a huge profit. Then they, or related businessmen, operate it at further profits as they fly personnel and cargo to distant points (such as Asia and Africa), as they open up larger and larger exploitation of those lands.

Unmentioned in their sales talk for the SST is, perhaps, an overriding purpose of the entire ruling class — that of military use in policing the world.

But just as this giant theft is about to take place and the key is being fitted into the locks of the treasury where they keep the piles of our dollars — there seems to be a hitch. It is not clear how serious the hitch is but in top business and political circles there is talk of a "postponement" in the building of the SST.

Disgruntled bankers and businessmen who are not getting their share of the loot may be threatening trouble if they are not cut in.

The SST project was given the official kiss by Kennedy in 1963. But according to The Wall Street Journal (Jan. 9) Congress began appropriating money for it in 1962 — and has already handed out \$511 million of the money we sweated for to the airplane companies for preliminary work on the plans.

Two companies competed for the prize of building it. On the one hand, Boeing — with General Electric which was to build the jet engines. On the other, Lockheed with Pratt & Whitney, who would build the engines if Lockheed won the contract.

The outcome announced on December 31 by Johnson, was foreshadowed by an article in Business Week, that inside

voice of U.S. big business --presided over by Elliott V. Bell, a director of Chase-Manhattan Bank, New York Telephone, New York Life Insurance, and other giants. In the article, Business Week, perhaps already knowing the winner, put a halo on Boeing's president, William M. Allen: "Indeed, his achievements in expanding global aviation may bear comparison by some future social historian with Henry Ford's introduction of automobiles for the masses."

Lockheed's President Gross was "urbane" and "imperturbable" but not mentioned as a subject for historians.

On December 31, Johnson announced that Boeing and GE had won.

Boeing, which had passed GM as the leading war goods maker as far back as 1959 as it became more and more the recipient of big business money and control, has as directors such men as Thomas R. Wilcox, the Executive VP of First National City Bank and Crawford Greenewalt, Chairman of the Board of Dupont de Nemours and a director of Morgan Guaranty Trust. Allen, the president of Boeing, is a director of Standard Oil of California.

A few days after the award was given to Boeing, it was announced that the losers would "probably" get a nice consolation prize of some \$35 million of our money for their troubles. Sounds like a rather substantial amount — but indications were that it was not enough to suit them.

Other sounds were heard. The New York Times editorial said on January 2 in the nicest, politest words you could ask for that giving Boeing all the gravy was not fair, that the others should get their fair share of the BIG money.

Business Week of January 9 said the SST might be a dud — that all the figuring about how much it would help the balance of payments etc. was a lot of baloney, . . . and that Johnson might "postpone" the "go-ahead."

It sounded suspiciously as though off stage behind the plush curtains some bitter kicking and eye-gouging and other business-like tactics were being used to get the Boeing faction to divvy up the loot.

## Podgorny and the Pope— Meeting Confuses Workers

Continued from Preceding Page

have been an international scandal. Lenin wrote a whole book against leading members of his own party for saying far less fantastic things than Garaudy. In fact, Lenin's aim at that time was to smoke out these people and prove that their hidden position would lead to the open position that Garaudy now holds.

As the "ignorant" muzhik said in "Ten Days that Shook the World," — "There are two classes in society: the workers and the bosses. And if you're not on one side, you're on the other." So there are two philosophies: materialism and idealism — that is, atheism and religion. If you're not on one side you're on the other.

And this has nothing to do with the question of being patient with the oppressed masses and sensitive to their feelings on this question. It has nothing to do with our solidarity with those fine individual spirits who oppose U.S. atrocities on the basis of their belief in religion and their revulsion against those (like Spellman) who make a mockery of it.

It is impossible to convince capitalism to be kind to the workers. And it is impossible for the Communists to convince the Catholic Church

hierarchy to be friendly to Marxism.

And to seriously compare a belief in the supernatural — in heaven, hell, limbo, purgatory, etc. — with a "belief" in the class struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors — is obscurantism. It helps conceal social reality, class reality. It helps the ideology of the oppressor and thus helps him to continue his rule of oppression.

The Christian concept of "love," moreover, is above all the concept of "loving your enemies." And this comes down to the workers loving their bosses and the colonial slaves loving their masters. Any other kind of "love" can be taught by many other teachers, and Christians have no monopoly on such instructions.

The "Marxist" Dr. Garaudy, however, is teaching the former kind of "love" and whitewashing the church, while Podgorny whitewashes the Pope.

Won't the workers, especially those who hear Garaudy's sermons, think that Podgorny is "learning" from the Pope "how best to develop his own beliefs?" And won't even the most class-conscious of them think that somehow the Pope can't be so bad, since he is willing to meet with Podgorny, and maybe the Pope might even be a little bit in favor of Communism?



## Through the Magnifying Glass

By John Moore

### Second-Hand Air

Young men with missing legs, without arms, or with blasted eyes — these are not yet common sights in the U.S. (as they are in Vietnam). But they will become more common.

Already government figures admit that nearly 50,000 American soldiers have been hit, ripped, or blasted in some way in Vietnam. And if the ruling class goes on unchecked, this is just a beginning.

More thousands of boys of from eighteen through the early twenties will be pumped full of lies and then, with no voice in the matter, sent to fight a poor people defending their country and their homes.

Many will come back wounded — but without the consolation that it was for something right. Unlike the inspiring knowledge that Vietnamese fighters have that, no matter what happens to them, they are giving everything they have to the cause of human liberation, GIs, who see the facts as they are, will see only that they are pawns to be used and then thrown aside by the big businessmen who make the war for their own ends.

A glimpse inside Walter Reed Hospital may make the point more clear.

In August 1965, Drew Pearson was on one of his left wing tacks — building up credit among readers with some strong exposures. These exposures make his right wing smears more convincing. (Right now he is attempting to whitewash Johnson on the assassination.) At any rate, on a hot summer day, Jack Anderson, Pearson's colleague, visited Walter Reed Hospital in humid hot Washington. Here is some of what he saw:

"The grounds are park-like, the grass trim, the atmosphere serene." BUT "You visit an enlisted men's ward. Forty-five beds are crowded in one room. Young men, arms and legs blown off in Vietnam, hobble and jostle around the packed quarters.

"There are only one shower and four wash basins for all the men in the ward." (Drew Pearson Column, Aug. 25, 1965)

He goes on to tell of the dirty conditions and how a man died because there was no one in attendance at the understaffed hospital.

And then as he leaves he sees a sign on the door: "Air conditioned. Please do not leave open."

He is surprised because the room is very hot.

But downstairs IN THE OFFICERS' QUARTERS where everything is clean, the air conditioning is working fine. He learns that AFTER the cool, air conditioned air is blown into the officers' quarters it is supposed to be piped up to the enlisted men.

Second-hand air! That's what the ruling class and the brass who planned the place thought of these poor youths they sent over to fight their war.

But this class discrimination is exceptional only in the form it happened to take. Actually the Army (as well as the Navy and Marines) is full of these situations. Whether it is the food, the living quarters, or any of the other conditions of life, the enlisted men (workers) who make up the army can see daily what the ruling class thinks of them.

The class system is burnt into them night and day. Indoctrination courses try to inject fascism into them, but daily life in the army builds up a class awareness, in some ways, as sharply as a strike in a steel mill. Daily humiliation and degradation by officers (and by sergeants, the foremen of the Army) is a wonderful developer of class consciousness. While the mass of enlisted men are not ready to become Communists, every insult by an officer, every view of officers enjoying their special clubs — where they may be sent as servants — brings that readiness a little closer and lays the foundation for and understanding and acceptance of Communism and revolution.

I speak from experience.

### Gunners Without Insignia

"Gunners Without Insignia" is a little book about North Vietnamese civilians fighting back. It is published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Hanoi.

It is not a statistics book. It is a book of warm, alive prose that tells how Vietnamese people feel, what they say, and what they do, and what they look like as they fire at U.S. bombers, pick up a downed U.S. pilot, stick it out at a telephone switchboard as the bombs fall, or board a ferry boat to cross a river where a bridge has been bombed out.

In one story, "The Ferry Chief", by Vu Chinh My, we meet a ferry chief, Huang, an ex-soldier.

Huang is a rough guy who sometimes makes his own rules. He tells off a waiting truck driver who protests against Huang's lighting a cigarette in the darkness. Later, as the drivers are being held up as their priority orders are checked, the same truck driver appeals to Huang to be taken across out of order. A long line of vehicles are waiting.

Huang asks him: "What kind of goods are yours?"

The truck driver starts to explain, "Children's Day is approaching."

Huang continues to demand his permit. It turns out that he is carrying toys and candy for a Children's Day which will soon be past and that he is afraid he will be late.

Huang says nothing more about it but later waves him aboard as the first truck to follow the military vehicles and then has to mollify an angry driver with a high priority whom he has kept waiting.

The story ends with Huang bumming a cigarette from the delayed driver and spilling out his own story: that his own son has a bad case of measles and that he (Huang) would like to go home to visit him but can't because of the war.

"To hell with Johnson!" he ends angrily and spits on the ground.

With subtle and deep feeling, and yet without sentimentality, the story makes you feel both the fight and the feeling that motivate this simple and direct man — and millions of other Vietnamese.